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SOCIAL DESPOTISM OR SOCIAL DEMOCRACY

BY SEYMOUR STEDMAN.

It is of frequent occurrence that Socialists point out the Postal System of the United States as an example of the application of their theory. This great national institution has a great deal more despotism and imperialism in its make up than a Social Democracy can have. Above everything else, Socialism stands for a tolerant as well as a democratic administration of the means of production and distribution. It is impossible, also, for a single industry to be operated in any sense on Socialist lines surrounded by and constantly bombarded by capitalist institutions and business methods.

For the last few years, there has been a studied and persistent attempt to bring even public ownership into disfavor. The express companies and other capitalist interests are doing all they can to destroy the effectiveness of the postal system and to make it unpopular with the masses. Recently the employees in the postal system attempted to relieve themselves from the low six hundred dollars a year salaries and to increase their pay through legislative enactment. They appealed, as we presumed every American citizen had a right to do, to the law-making body of the United States, to-wit, Congress. They organized for the purpose of acting as a unit. For this seeming offense, the leaders of this organization lost their positions in the postal service and were given by His Imperial Majesty, Theodore I., that when they wished any provisions made for their benefit, they would go to their master, the Postmaster General, and should not presume to petition the only body in the United States Government which has the right through legislation to increase their pay.

The railroads charge the government for the mail which they carry so much per pound and ton. They do not weigh the mail each day, but every four years, a month is selected and the mail is weighed during that month, which is considered the average weight for the four years following. During this month, which is selected for the weighing of the mails, the mail service is filled with pamphlets, leaflets, books and correspondence, which is run forward and backward from town to town, and this corrupt method of overloading the mails has been recognized by every observer in the country for the last twelve or fifteen years. The railroads rob the postal system right and left and the cheap bureaucrats and subsidized capitalist office holders in the postal system either know the facts or are in a mental condition entirely unfit to serve any purpose except perhaps as an inmate in a dope house, and even there their comatose condition might be disturbed by dreams.

Ordinarily, we would presume it a benefit to the public that any man should have the privilege of subscribing for a trade journal or a Socialist paper, and order it sent to his friends; but no, the lordly bureaucrats of the postal system will not permit it. You, Mr. Reader, have no postal right to subscribe for this paper and have it sent to a friend. Every man must pay for the paper that he receives. When a publisher presents his mailing list to the postal authorities, he must give assurance that every name represents an actual bona fide subscriber; that is, a man who personally has made a payment for the paper. We should think that the greater the amount of business that the postal system could secure, the better off it would be, but in order to assist the express companies and to bring public ownership in disrepute, the postal authorities are of the opinion that the less mail they handle, the more the express companies will have, and private trust enterprise will thrive.

Wilshire published a magazine. He happened to have the personal pronoun "I" in certain parts of the magazine and he also had some "ideas" so an ex-railroad man, Mr. Madden, who the capitalists recognized as a species who would make a good and servile lackey, was placed in the service (Third Assistant Postmaster General), he excluded Wilshire's magazine, which was thereafter published from Canada. The reason given by the postal authorities why they excluded this magazine was because he was exploiting his ideas. A very dangerous compound—"Ideas"—for nothing is more disturbing to a tyrant or an encroaching bureaucrat than "ideas," especially if they amount to anything.

Later on, this autocratic machine announced to several Socialist papers that they must not put in a subscription blank between their pages, and should assist from sending out bundle orders. This is a prescription in self-defense, for Socialism would make the postal system democratic as well as collective, and democracy is the daylight which makes some species creep into their holes.

A beet sugar journal published in Chicago was desirous of issuing a supplement to give data and information to the farmers who were growing "beets" by which they could raise larger crops and a better quality of beets. Many engaged in the beet sugar enterprise desired to subscribe to these journals and have them sent to the farmers, but, lo and behold, the Great American Bureaucracy refused to permit the paper to be sent because the beet sugar farmers themselves did not have sense enough to subscribe for a paper, which they had never heard of, and which was adapted to their line of business.

A person with ordinary sense and reason would ask, "If the postal system is paid for sending these papers, why should it care who has subscribed or paid for them?" To understand the reason we will have to grasp the capitalist methods which are exercised to cripple not only the postal system but every other public enterprise, for the capitalist class does not propose to have its great trusts threatened by either a superior talent or better service in public enterprises.

The postal department has excluded "Luceifer" from the mails. It is true that some articles in that paper would offend a hyper-orthodox and ossified Presbyterian—in fact Babel's "Women," Louis H. Morgan's "Ancient Society" and much from Herbert Spencer, Darwin or Westermarck would offend the same class of molety minded people who were offended by "Luceifer." It is not necessary that any one should agree with Harmon or his theories or the theories of those who write for his paper. We may differ with him just as we differ with the Sultan of Turkey, or, if you please, with the ethical standard of the wealthy class of Americans who give a dowry with their daughters to a royal title, or as we differ with the ethics of the postal officers who permit the system to be openly pilfered and robbed by railroads and small grafters, and then stop magazines because they "exploit an idea." The postal system has singled out Harmon's paper as the line of least resistance because a very great number of people oppose Harmon's views. The later issues of Harmon's paper, which have been stopped from the mail privilege, were stopped purely for the reason that the postal authorities differed from Harmon in opinion and not because "Luceifer" was either immoral or lascivious. Louis T. Post, in a fifteen column editorial, which is now published in pamphlet form, by the "Public" offices in the First National Bank Building, Chicago, has shown conclusively to any reasonable mind the extent of the censorship which now prevails in the United States and the great danger with which we are threatened, and the Socialists of this country should recognize this danger to their cause, for when liberty of the mail is denied to them, freedom of speech is to all purposes destroyed. Graft running from the smallest petty business to the Senate chamber will use means as immoral and debauching to perpetuate itself as the immorality of conditions which it has produced. It will use the postal system when deemed necessary to throttle all radical and progressive papers and unless we are equal to the danger, at an early date, we will find here in recent months, a postal censorship of despotic men in addition to government by injunction.

Imprisonment without trial by jury and without the witnesses being brought face to face with the accused.

The use of the militia, the ousting of sheriffs and the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus as in Colorado, or in other words, a State military despotism. And all this we will have crowned by a postal censorship which will crush free speech and free communication. We are moving to this goal at a most terrific pace. Those who are fighting against the Caesars in the United States and who are in the Socialist Party recognize the danger and the true enemy. They understand that the class which is predominant to-day controls the situation through private ownership of the means of production, and that this master class will use the corrupt United States Senator, and smaller office holder as lackeys and servants to perpetuate its unholy life.

While we fight for collectivism, let us double the blows for democracy in Socialism.

It is perfectly legal and "respectable" to gamble on the board of trade, but to gamble with cards is "illegal." The capitalists make a business of the first, because it is a sure thing game, by which they steal the products of the farming and producing classes, but they stamp the other as "illegal," because there is a chance to win from the gambler.

OUR BOOK OFFER
Send us a bunch of five yearly subscribers, and we will send you the latest book out: "Evolution of Man."

Hired men to-day run the principal industries of America for the benefit of few plutocrats. Under Socialism they will run them for the benefit of the workers instead of the plutocrats.

Circulate next week's issue. It will be a splendid propaganda sheet.

In some of our industries, according to the United States statistics, it costs more to sell the products than it does to produce them. Great system.

Who are you going to elect as judges this fall? Your friend or your enemy? Better think hard on this proposition.

Dunne's immediate municipal ownership proposition bears strong internal evidence of having died "a-borning."

What will the Russian soldiery do when they get home? Russia's troubles have just begun in the ending of the war in the Far East.

The printers didn't think they could be arrested like the "common herd" of workers. The class struggle breeds many ideas.

The poor date of peace looks mightily out of place hovering over the carcasses of the robber barons of the Twentieth Century.

Next Monday being Labor Day there will be no session of the Executive Committee until Monday, Sept. 11. All members urged to be on time at that date.

Roosevelt the Great, First Emperor of the United States and Grand Hot Air Minister Plenipotentiary and Envoy Extraordinary of the balance of the world.

Are the present tariff exposures the result of late extreme wickedness or the result of an aroused conscience growing out of the Socialist party propaganda?

The exploiting air of the nations is so densely peaceful now that one can fairly hear the heart throbs of the unemployed in their diligent search for a "piece" of their product.

Speaking of Rockefeller going into politics, it has been popularly supposed in the Tabor circle that the boss oil king had a few State Legislatures and City Councils, to say nothing of United States Senators, in his safe already.—Chicago Daily News.

Poor old Grandma Chronicle cries bitter tears over the corruption, which is coming to light every day. And even smelling salts does not soothe her wounded feelings, when she thinks of the awful fact that it all helps the Socialists.

And when the union men have injunctions hurled at them, and their skulls are cracked by the special police they have the pleasure of knowing that it was the union labor vote of Chicago that elected their enemies into public power.

The old harlot, the Democratic party, with Hearst as chief touter, pretends to be interested in the interests of the working people, when the fact is, that it is more of a slave to the money power and more anxious to do its dirty work than even the Republican party.

Some day the union men will wake up and help us elect class conscious Socialists to office. Then they will not need to go and present petitions and get a kick for their impertinence. They will then be in positions to order and have their orders executed.

Why talk about class war? Why not preach class love? Why not talk peace instead of conflict and harmony, instead of discord? Why not preach contentment instead of dissatisfaction? Why not persuade the slave to remain a slave without struggling for his freedom? Why not submit to the extortion of the trust magnate without protest, rather than disturb society by a revolt against the system of robbery he has built up? Why not?

The marine phase of the war upon the gamblers is mildly interesting, but it is not particularly practical or effective. The man who is so badly bitten by the gambling insect that he will cruise around the lake all day on a stuffy steam barge for the sake of betting against another man's game is incapable of repression. He will get his money down somehow, even if he has to "play" the stock market. In that diversion he is, of course, beyond the reach of Admiral Collins and his merry men.—Es.

The reports from Socialist organizers and State secretaries from all parts of the country are of the most encouraging character. The spell of inactivity and apathy which settled down on so many of the branches and locals appears to have been completely dispelled and the comrades everywhere are buckling down to the hard but inspiring work of placing the Socialist message before their fellow workers so often and so forcibly that the most stupid and obstinate worker will be unable to much longer remain in the dark as to what party represents his interests.

One of the very best signs that Socialism is worrying the capitalists very much is the fact that from Maine to California the "authorities" controlled by the employing class are attempting to stop our open air propaganda. You may preach almost anything under the sun on the streets of our American cities except Socialism without being molested. You may preach any old con, sell gold bricks or quack medicine, but the moment you begin to put the workers next to the brace game of capitalism that they are playing against you very naturally find strenuous opposition. But after all the capitalists are blind. Every time they break up a Socialist meeting or prohibit the holding of another they stimulate a desire to know more about it.

NOTICE

On Saturday, September 9, we will issue an eight-page Campaign Edition of the Chicago Socialist. This edition will contain all information regarding the primaries and articles by the best Socialist writers.

In this edition we will make a special effort to point out to the workers the importance of the coming election, and the absolute necessity of the workers taking control of the judicial power now in the hands of the employing class. Individuals and branches should send in their orders as soon as possible. The price will be 75c per hundred. We should circulate 100,000 copies of this issue.

In the mean time don't fail to get regular subscribers. Remember every issue tells the story of why the workers should be united on the political field.

THE PRINTERS' STRIKE

The struggle of the Typographical Union for an eight-hour workday is on in Chicago. For the past two years the Typographical Union of the United States and Canada has been preparing to make a fight for a shorter working day for its members to begin Jan. 1, 1906.

A year ago notice was served on all the employers to that effect in order that they might arrange their contracts for printing on the basis of the new adjustment of hours and wages.

The agreement of the Chicago Typographical Union, No. 64, has expired and the Chicago Typothetae has posted notices in some of its shops that they will enter into no more contracts with the Typographical Union, and that they would not accede to the demand for the eight-hour day. The result is that up to the present writing there are about 350 printers on strike, with the prospects that if the members of the Typothetae do not recede from their demand for an open shop that the number will be increased to twelve or fifteen hundred in a short time.

The Chicago Typothetae, owing to the fact that its agreement with the Typographical Union expired six months before the general demand all over the country, was to be made for the eight-hour day, attempted to "rat" a few shops at a time. In this way they expected to be able to keep their shops going. But the Typographical Union has had too much experience and gone through too many battles with the employers to permit them to fight them in sections.

A special meeting of Local No. 16 was called for last Sunday at Brand's Hall and was attended by over 1,000 members. At this meeting the union decided to vigorously carry on the fight at once in all shops of the Typothetae where they refused to sign the agreement for an eight-hour day and a closed shop after Jan. 1, 1906.

The union at its meeting at Brand's Hall, to show that it meant business, voted a 10 per cent assessment on all members within the jurisdiction of Local No. 16. It is estimated that this will give the local union \$8,000 per week to carry on the fight in Chicago. This \$8,000 is over and above what Local 16 is entitled to from the International fund. This will enable Local 16 to pay its striking and locked-out members \$12 per week.

The telegraphers on the Northern and Great Northern railroads, who have been on strike for some weeks, have called off their strike and returned to work on the terms offered by the companies before the strike was called. So long as the railroad employees, who must work co-operatively, remain divided in sections, and help the company defeat each other, they are not likely to win any strikes. The telegraphers lost their strike because the engineers, firemen and trainmen, etc., assisted the company to keep their business going during the strike. The defeat of the telegraphers is an unanswerable argument in favor of industrial unionism.

FR MARY CALL FILED.

The county secretary filed the call for the primaries on the 29th, Tuesday. At the close-up it took some heroic work, and some of the wards went in pretty ragged. Among them the First, Fourth, Sixth, Eleventh, Twentieth, Twenty-third, Twenty-fifth and Twenty-sixth. The ward chairman in these wards will need to watch these wards pretty close in next week's paper. There will be many vacancies. All these will have to be filled. Do not wait until the paper is issued, but proceed at once to get in extra names wherever you know of any weaknesses. If you hear of any of your men who failed to qualify lose no time in substituting another name.

Up to the day of the primaries general rustling will have to be done to avoid buying gaps and to prove that we have the organizing machinery competent to man the primaries.

Tell every voter that Saturday, Sept. 16, will be the date for our primaries and urge a full vote.

Keep everlastingly at it. Make this poverty ridden old commonwealth ring with the proletarian echoes of your organized resistance to further exploitation.

Read the parliaments of our great prize contest in the next issue.

COLLINS

\$2.00 HATS
UNION MADE
NEW FALL STYLES
NOW ON SALE
S. W. Corner
Madison and La Salle Streets

THE IDEAL EMPLOYEE

Wages of "the Most Perfect of All the Servitors of This Earth."

When the opponent of trades unions wishes to make a particularly strong argument in support of his position, he appeals to the public's sense of equity by asserting that the union places all its members, good, bad and indifferent, on a level as to wages. This, he declares, is not fair to the high-grade mechanic. The union keeps his wages down to the level of the wages of less valuable men, whereas, he should be permitted to get as high wages as he can earn; a thing that he would be able to do were it not for the tyranny of his selfish union.

The fact that there is not a grain of truth in this argument makes no difference to the man who uses it. It seems plausible to anyone who gives the matter no critical attention.

As a matter of fact, the union merely seeks to prevent wages from falling below a certain minimum; the employer is at perfect liberty to pay superior mechanics as high wages as he pleases—there is no maximum limit, except that fixed by economic law. Most employers pay a limited number of extra valuable men a moderate advance on the union scale. The number of these fortunate boys absolutely in no relation to the number of first-class men in the shop. Every shop must have one or more high grade mechanics, and precisely as many as must be had get the higher wages, and no more, no matter how many first-class men there are in the shop.

Furthermore, the total amount of the higher wage does not depend upon the recipient's value at all. It depends on what happens to be the amount of the minimum wage. The premium for skill is the difference in wages. Manifestly that difference would not be any greater than it now is if the minimum rate should decline. The difference in skill would remain the same, and, as the premium is not paid as a matter of equity, but purely as a matter of business policy, a decline in the general wage rate would be accompanied by an equal fall in exceptionally high wages.

The following press clipping (credited to the Washington Post) is interesting as a side light upon the question of the sincerity of those who profess a desire that the workman should be paid according to his value, yet who denounce the union as a bar to that:

"Chinese house servants are getting scarce and high priced in California," said Mr. R. B. Lester, of San Francisco. "With many of us this is a source of real grief, for your Chinaman is the most perfect of all the servitors of this earth. He won't make one mistake a year; he carries out his orders with unquestioning obedience, and he never 'sasses' his employer. With their growing scarcity there has been a corresponding increase in the wages until now a good Chinese cook takes nothing of asking \$50 to \$60 per month."

Fifty or sixty dollars per month ought not to be too much wages for "the most perfect of all the servitors of this earth," but, mind you, the only reason they get it is because "with their growing scarcity there has been a corresponding increase in the wages."

In further evidence that the grief of the California employers arises from the fact that they are obliged to pay as much for "the most perfect of all the servitors of this earth" as an ordinary American mechanic receives, I beg to present the distinguished testimony of "The Poet of the Sierras," Mr. Joaquin Miller, as given over his signature in the Arena, of October, 1904. I quote:

"If the doors were opened to-morrow, so that we could get a good domestic, as was the case a few years ago, for one-fifth the price that we now pay for a poor one."

"The most perfect of all the servitors of this earth" working, a few years ago, "for one-fifth the price that we now pay for a poor one."

Was there a labor union among the Chinamen a few years ago, whose tyrannical forest the highest grade of labor to accept not one-fifth of what he now gets, but "one-fifth of what we now pay for a poor one?"

No. The Chinaman was unhampered by the wicked tyranny of trades unions. He was free to accept any price that his employer would pay. And as for the employer, his opportunity to put into practice his economic theory of the value of individual contracts to the laborer was ideal; it could not have been improved upon. He was perfectly free to pay each individual employee according to his value, not according to the arbitrary dictation of a trade union, which selfishly and tyrannically holds the best workman down to the wage level of the less efficient. Did he do it? Did the employers illustrate their economic theory by paying according to value? According to the employers' own verdict, the "Chinaman is the most perfect of all the servitors of this earth," and according to Joaquin Miller they paid this highest-class servitor "one-fifth what they now pay for a poor one!"

No doubt the trades unions—like all other human institutions, including the employers' unions—need to be purged of much that is bad in them. Mean time, the trades union has ample cause to survive so long as its enemies in combining it, contradict history, is more natural law, and put reason, logic and common sense to shame.—Horace Clifton in "The Public."

I saw a picture of a woman with neck tied over her eyes. She told me that was Justice—blind Justice!

"THE SCAB," AS SEEN FROM THREE STANDPOINTS

To define the word "scab" in the sense in which it is meant in the "labor world" would be a difficult task, indeed. The word itself is indicative of something sore, rotten, putrid, unsound, unwholesome and impure. It carries with it a feeling of loathsomeness, repulsiveness and disgust. It is suggestive of filth, disease, corruption and uncleanness. It is abhorrent to the senses and nauseating to consider.

Webster tells us all "these things" and more. He says: "A scab is a nickname for a workman who engages for lower wages than are fixed by the trades unions; or a name for one who takes the place of a workman on strike." He also tells us a "scab" is a mean, dirty, paltry fellow. Given all these expressions do not convey to the mind the meanness of the "scab."

Shakespeare tells us a "scab" is a "low fellow," but how low the "famous hard of Avon" does not say. No doubt he believed that a "scab" was one of the lowest and foulest specimens of the human race. Can any one say otherwise? Can any one say a good word in his favor? Do the employers of labor love him? Do they hold him in respect, even in the remotest degree? Follow any one of the great strikes of our country and you will find that the "scab" has been used for a tool for the time being, but disposed of as soon as industrial peace "held sway" again.

A "scab" is a thief among wage-earners, just as a hawk is among the lords of the air. He is a "pirate" upon organized labor; a "detritment" to trades unions—a "strike-breaker."

Perhaps the best definition is given by the poet in the following lines:

"A creature more contemptible
It would be hard to find,
A creature in a human form,
The meanest of his kind.
A scab, crawling, creeping thing,
Just fit to kiss the hand
That thrashed and cowed and conquered it,
And bear its master's brand."
"The Scab" or "black sheep" is a club
Which corporations use
To break the heads of honest men,
Who will not stand abuse.
They strive to bring all decent men
To this degrading state,
That they may assist their greed
And gold accumulators."

Many of this character are known by different names. In the United States they are designated as "scabs"; in some localities or trades they are called "rats." In European countries they are popularly known as "black-legs," "knobsticks," "black-sheep," etc. Any name to distinguish them "the world over" from honest and upright men, it seems, is not good enough for them. Slap them as you would the viper; they are not fit to associate with; they are a hindrance to prosperity; a detriment to mankind, enemies to trades unions and traitors to labor. No one has any respect for them and they know it.

They cannot look you straight in the face. They know they are wrong in the position they assume, and they also know that we have no room or use for them in this free land of ours. They are aware of the fact that "labor unions" are "legitimate organizations," and have come to stay. They, therefore, have a choice of two things—either join the union of their craft and live up to its teaching and its principles, or migrate to the "land of no good," to the jungles of "darkest Africa," where they will be forever lost sight of.—Teamster's Journal.

Commenting on the foregoing article from the Teamster's Journal, who is not only a pure and simple trade unionist, the editor of the Miners' Journal, who is editor of what a scab is and the environment that produces scabbery, and the only possible remedy for the social disease:

We have published the above editorial from the Teamster's Journal not because we are in complete harmony with all that there is contained in the editorial, but in order to show that the editor is wasting his efforts upon an effect instead of a cause. The "scab" is born out of the brutalized and dehumanized system under which we live. The "scab" is a natural product of our present civilization, and as long as the wage system lasts, just so long will the "scab" be found to serve the class of privilege who become richer and mightier, as labor is reduced to the starving point. If the editor of the Teamster's Journal as well as the editor of other labor journals would train their guns upon the system that demands the "scab" for its maintenance and perpetuation, the "scab," the "rat," the "black-leg," the "knobstick" and the "black-sheep" would disappear and the strike would be no more. Just as long as there are strikes, just as long will there be "scabs." Just so long as the few own the natural resources of the earth, and the machines of production and distribution, just so long will there be strikes and just so long will there be found wage-slaves, who will commit treason to the class to which they belong.

The wage system inoculates our whole social life, and the victims of toil are forced in countless numbers to dishonor themselves through a necessity that recognizes no principles of manhood or honor.

The impoverished workman when engaged in a conflict with the oppressor of labor beholds the face of a wife growing thinner as the larder becomes bankrupt and the moan of hungry children appeals to him with an eloquence that makes him forget every lesson that he may have learned in the sanctuary that has been consecrated and made sacred by the assemblies of his fellow-men in the cause of unionism.

The pang of woe that whitens the face of wife and children makes him a "scab" covered with the opprobrium that is meted out to the traitor. The man who has committed treason, who has betrayed his fellow-men, seldom glories in his degeneracy. He knows that he has lost the respect and friendship of the men who remained true and loyal to the flag of unionism. But notwithstanding the fact that epithets are hurled at him, regardless of the fact that he knows that he is consigned to infamy, jeered and scorned by the men who once grasped his hand in a fraternal clasp, yet he faces these penalties because honor succumbs to the pangs of poverty. The world, as a general proposition, frowns upon the fallen woman whose cheek has lost the blush of shame. The world forgets that she was once as pure and spotless as a snowflake, and the world knows nothing about the battle which she fought before she yielded her honor for bread.

Our denunciation of the fallen woman and our condemnation of the "scab," will not drive these microbes from our civilization. Let us fight the system that breeds the "scab" and the fallen woman; in other words, let us abolish rent, interest and profit, and this planet of ours will become an Eden where men and women will be the noblest works of God.

The following is an extract from a pamphlet by Jack London, "The Scab":

The only honest morality displayed by either side is white-hot indignation at the iniquities of the other side. The striking teamsters complacently takes a scab driver into an alley and with an iron bar breaks his arms so that he can drive no more, but cries out to high heaven for justice when the capitalist breaks his skull by means of a club in the hands of a policeman. Nay, the members of a union will declaim in impassioned rhetoric for the God-given right of an eight-hour day, and at the time be working their own business agent seventeen hours out of the twenty-four.

A capitalist, such as Le late Collis P. Huntington, and his name is Legion, after a long life spent in buying the aid of countless legislatures, will wax virtuously wrathful and condemn in unmeasured terms "the dangerous tendency of crying out to the government for aid" in the way of labor legislation. Without a quiver, a member of the capitalist group will run tens of thousands of pitiful child-laborers through his life-destroying cotton factories, and weep maudlin and Constitutional tears over one scab hit in the back with a brick. He will drive a "compulsory" free contract with an unorganized laborer on the basis of a starvation wage, saying, "Take it or leave it," knowing that to leave it means to die of hunger; and in the next breath, when the organizer entices that laborer into union, will storm patriotically about the inalienable right of all men to work. In short, the chief moral concern of either side is with the morals of the other side. They are not in the business for their moral welfare, but to achieve the enviable position of the non-scab who gets more than he gives.

The capitalist-group has long since realized the immense importance of controlling the political and judiciary machinery of society. Taught by gatings and injunctions, which have smashed many an otherwise successful strike, the labor-group is beginning to realize that it all depends upon who is behind and who is before those weapons. And he who knows the labor-movement knows that there is slowly growing up and being formulated a clear, definite policy for the capture of the political and judiciary machinery.

This is the terrible spectre which Mr. John Graham Brooks sees looming portentously over the twentieth century world. No man may boast a more intimate knowledge of the labor-movement than he, and he reiterates again and again the dangerous likelihood of the whole labor-group capturing the political machinery of society. As he says in his recent book: "It is not probable that employers can destroy unionism in the United States. Adroit and desperate attempts will, however, be made, if we mean by unionism the undisciplined and aggressive fact of vigorous and determined organizations. If capital should prove too strong in this struggle, the result is easy to predict. The employers have only to convince organized labor that

(Continued on Fourth Page.)

FREE AMERICANS.

BY CHARLES H. KERR.

It is the settled belief of most of us (becoming an unsettled belief in some of us) that all Americans are free and equal, and that if a free American does not accumulate property, it is because there is something the matter with him.

Reading a little farther into our history I find the answer. When the fertile States of the Mississippi valley were opened up for settlement, it became possible for a laborer with a few simple tools to stake out a farm from the free land, build himself a log house, raise enough food from the start to live upon, and gradually by his own labor provide himself with comforts.

What they produced was usually theirs to keep in a very literal sense. Transportation in the early days was so difficult and expensive that only a small part of the things raised on the farm could be sold and shipped away; most of them were consumed where they were produced.

Their freedom was shared by the laborers who lived in the towns. There was manufacturing in America even then; it was at the same period when the children of England were being worked to death in the cotton mills there. But American laborers would not and did not submit to such conditions.

High wages stimulated the demand for labor-saving machinery, and America gradually came to the front in machine production. Meanwhile canals and railroads were built, so that the sale of farm products to city laborers and of factory products to the farmers became possible.

All this went on gradually, almost imperceptibly, until something happened to hasten the change. That something was the civil war between North and South. This war provided an artificial demand for all kinds of goods, while it took more than a million men out of the labor market.

The victorious soldiers returning from the war found that they must adapt themselves to a new condition of things. Machinery had been introduced on the farm as in the factory, and so the farm that had afforded work and a living for six men required only two.

So with improved machinery and lowered wages the factory system grew by leaps and bounds. The hand-mill and the crossroads grist-mill gave place to immense mills like those at Minneapolis that supply flour by the million barrels to the world market.

Our farmers now consume little of what they produce. They handle far more money than their fathers handled. But they are growing restive because they find that the price of everything they sell and of everything they buy is fixed for them by the great capitalists of the cities.

And what has the capitalist been doing all the time? He has been doing a useful and necessary work; he has been abolishing himself, and the work is nearly done.

This is the way of it. In 1840 the American capitalist was only a laborer working by the side of a few other laborers to whom he paid wages, and seeing to it that they worked as hard as he did.

Meanwhile the laborers are beginning to be uneasy. They see that with modern machinery they are producing at least ten times as much as their grandfathers produced, while all things considered they are not quite so well off as their grandfathers were.

Thus the triumph of the Socialist Party will make us a nation of FREE AMERICANS.

THE NEW CHIVALRY.

A STORY, BY BERTHA S. WILKINS.

"The air of a palace car would be close, indeed, to revolutionists," remarked Mrs. Gunther mischievously. "That would be especially true if a millionaire oppressor were paying for all the grandeur!"

"By the way, Mr. Burnham," asked Mrs. Gunther, changing the subject, "is the baby's nurse in the other car?"

"What is her name?" asked Mrs. Gunther, with some curiosity.

"Why, I really don't know," he answered, embarrassed. "I took the doctor's word as to her reliability."

"Did she leave her own baby in Denver?" queried Mrs. Gunther, relentlessly.

"No, I think the doctor said something about this woman's having lost her child a few days before I saw her."

"I shall take the liberty of calling up on her and getting baby's things," Mrs. Gunther said, rising. "Allow me to go alone—she will be less constrained if you are not there. I'll leave you here to take my husband to task for escaping from your bullock!" she said archly.

When Mrs. Gunther returned in half an hour she found a rhye in full swing. Her husband was holding the uneasy little guest while her own baby was taking liberties with Mr. Burnham's mustache and hair, crowing into his face with a dare-devil good fellowship.

Her husband is a union man, out of work, of course. Her baby died at the age of three weeks, because of exposure and lack of care during the excitement lately. When she saw the doctor's advertisement she left, against her husband's wishes, tempted by the high wages you offered. But we can bear only a certain amount of suffering.

"What do you advise me to do?" he asked.

"I'll carry out your suggestion," he said, rising to go.

"Certainly, Thank you, Mrs. Gunther. I'm a blunderer with women," he said, almost humbly. "I'm so accustomed to come down hard on the men, you see."

In the evening Burnham sat in an empty seat of the tourist car holding his baby. He had become quite accustomed to handling the youngsters alternately. Never in his life had he realized that a baby could be an object of interest until he saw Gunther's breezy enjoyment of his own "little cuss," his intelligent discipline of the little chap, and the careful physical culture exercises which he delighted in giving him between day and night clothes.

"Conrade Casey, I'm delighted to know you!" she exclaimed, seating the young man opposite; then with the Freemasonry of a common enthusiasm between them, the two launched into a discussion on the conditions of the Socialist movement in the West and the strike in Colorado.

"I worked on ranches for ten years after my sister and I were left alone in the world," he explained. "Now my sister is teaching and well able to care for herself. I was working with a pretty tough gang and I took things in with the boys until I became a Socialist."

"Let us hear from you, Conrade Casey," Mrs. Gunther said, when the young fellow took his leave. "A letter to the National Headquarters in Chicago will always reach us."

"Charles Hoffman Casey," she read from his card in her hand: "He's a fine young fellow! He'll make his mark with his Irish magnetism and his German balance and good common sense."

CHAPTER II.

"So you workers feel quite sure that you could get along without capitalists, do you?" Burnham asked as he seated himself opposite Mrs. Gunther.

"No, I promise not to be bored, so send along your broadsides. That boy certainly had a grip on conditions in the West. I see that the reasoning is fundamentally different from that of the business world. I want to understand your position.

"I think I can do that, but remember, I have warned you beforehand because I do not like to be tiresome to anyone. You asked me how we would get along without capitalists?" she began in a voice of light good humor.

"But don't you see that harmony is impossible between the robber and his victim? That is hard for you to see because you have never been the victim. You must rob the workers to make profits and you must make the largest profits possible—that's the fundamental law of the game."

"Wealth is the product of ability and labor," he interposed. "We have the ability—the workers have the labor-power. Working together in harmony would—"

"It is now generally conceded among Socialist agitators that Mayor Duane has done more to make Socialists of the working men in Chicago than any other ten Socialist agitators could do in the same time."

Comrades go to CURNEY'S for your FALL HATS, now ready, all styles, union made, \$2 and \$3. 97 E. Madison St., N. W. cor. Dearborn.

THEN THEY SERVED THE ICE.

There is a story whose truth is thoroughly vouched for, going the rounds in Chicago concerning a recent dinner at which a daughter of John B. Rockefeller, now married to one of Chicago's great capitalists, and a well known European man of letters were present.

"Perhaps," said the lady afterwards to the distinguished writer, "you may be able to suggest some one."

"Yes," came the startling reply, "I know just the person for the work. It is a young literary woman I met in New York. You may perhaps have heard her name, Miss Ida Tarbell."

"St. Petersburg, Aug. 22—Russia's answer to the Czar's manifesto has come without delay. Disappointed reformers say that millions of laborers, salaried employes and professional men who are excluded from the franchise, are about to join the revolutionists and that there will be everywhere a renaissance of rioting and bomb-throwing."

"The famous Prof. Milyonkov, late of the University of Chicago, and fifteen more leaders of the reform movement, have been arrested. Many zemstvoists, it is feared, will be deported and many have already been forbidden public speaking and writing."

"The new constitution now having become operative, the time is at hand for some definite plan looking to reorganization of the entire city and county. The following is submitted as a suggestive plan."

1. Call a general meeting of your ward branches, being careful to include every member of the several organizations, provided there are more than one branch in your ward.

2. When the meeting is called to order and a chairman is selected, announce the purpose of the meeting—the perfecting of the ward organization.

3. Select a ward chairman and as many district chairmen (primary captains) as there are districts in the ward, each one of whom shall reside in the district of which he is the captain.

4. From your membership roll proceed to find in what districts the members are living. Then let the district chairmen proceed to classify all such names as fall within their respective districts.

5. In those wards where more than one branch now exists, known as 1, 2 and 3, for instance, let such branches retain their present organization, but change the name to correspond with the district in which they are located and exchange members if they reside outside the district.

6. Put out and paste on a sheet of card board that portion of the ward map representing each district.

7. Where there are not now sufficient members to form a district club, the chairman of such district shall at once make a canvass for applicants for membership, using both the list of primary voters and members of Socialist papers.

8. Each primary club, when organized, shall proceed to the election of a secretary and such other officers as it may deem necessary, including a precinct captain for each precinct for the purpose of canvassing the precinct for new members.

9. The producing class who first creates all this vast wealth must then work harder to pay interest on it. Mr. Workingman, how many of these municipal and national interest-bearing bonds do you clip coupons from?

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FOR FIRST-CLASS TAILORING AT THE RIGHT PRICES GO TO COMRADE OLSON 42 Monroe St., Palmer House

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WEST SIDE AUDITORIUM. Taylor St. and Center Ave. SEPT. 9 and 10 The Only Socialist Play in the United States Under the personal direction of J. W. BARTELS, the Socialist Orator-Actor All tickets sold for Aurora Hall will be honored at West Side Auditorium Tickets for Sale at office of the Chicago Socialist

We have a few boxes of Old Conn. B. L. Second Wr. which we will offer at 35c on the scale, net cash, until sold.

Watch this space in next issue.

METZGER & COMPANY 204 E. LAKE STREET, CHICAGO



MILWAUKEE AND ASHLAND AVENUES

The West Side's Largest Clothing Store

Visit Our Shoe Annex

Ladies', Men's & Children's Shoes

Hammering down the prices is bringing this store to the front. Everybody should make this store their trading center for all kinds of merchandise.

JOHNSON BROTHERS 1634-1650 MILWAUKEE AVE. WEST OF ARMITAGE

PRE-INVENTORY SALE \$2 and \$1.50 Shirts \$1.15 F.J. Scholl & Co. HATTERS and FURNISHERS

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BIG CLEARING SALE 10' OF MEN'S SUITS WORTH \$9 AND \$10 ALL AT \$3, \$4.50 AND \$5

Korbel's Wines RECOMMEND THEMSELVES WINE VAULTS: 684-686 W. 12th ST.

BETTER THAN EVER SILVERSTEIN & WEINSTEIN'S SHOES

BASKET PICNIC Sunday, Sept. 3d, 1905, at 9 o'clock

SOCIALIST STATE NATIONAL ACTIVITIES INTERNATIONAL

GENERAL PARTY NEWS.

South Dakota Socialists will hold an informal State convention, a sort of gathering of the clan, at Hot Springs during the fair, Sept. 11-15.

A caucus of Massachusetts Socialists will be held Aug. 27, and candidates for Governor and other officers will be nominated Aug. 28.

O. Lund, 510 South Avenue street, Spokane, Wash., has been elected a member of the National Committee.

The police force, backed by the militia of Kansas City, Mo., have made their bid for fame in trying to suppress Socialist street meetings.

Certain correspondence relating to the controversy in Minneapolis has been submitted to the National Executive Committee for its consideration.

The rules drafted by the National Executive Committee in session July 21-22, to govern the National Committee in voting will become operative Sept. 1, 1905.

National Committee action No. 20, which provides for a re-consideration of National Committee action No. 18, which motion, No. 18, provided that committees representing the voters of National Committees should not be published in the Monthly Official Bulletin.

W. C. Benton—Sept. 3, Ft. Scott, Kan.; Sept. 4, Pittsburg, Sept. 5 and 6, Parsons; Sept. 7, Galena; Sept. 8, Garthage, Mo.; Sept. 9, Joplin, Mo.

James F. Carey—Sept. 1, Bridgeport, Conn.; Sept. 2 and 3, New Haven, Conn.; Sept. 4, Norwich; Sept. 5, Mystic; Sept. 6, Middletown; Sept. 7, Meriden; Sept. 8, Naugatuck; Sept. 9, Waterbury.

John W. Stoughton—Sept. 3, Pittsburg, Pa.; Sept. 4, Cleveland, Ohio; Sept. 5, Alexandria, Ind.; Sept. 6, Indianapolis; Sept. 7, en route; Sept. 8, Keokuk, Ill.; Sept. 9, Peoria, Ill.

MINNESOTA.

Correspondent—J. N. Nash.

Robbinsdale, Minn., Aug. 24. A referendum of the entire State membership of the Minnesota Socialist movement has just been taken.

By this action the recently reorganized local in Minneapolis, now numbering some 85 members, is endorsed by a practically unanimous vote of the State as the official organization in Minneapolis.

CORRESPONDENCE.

A. K. K.

There seems to be a general lack of interest in the National Office in going to work. This may be because it is the most important portion of the party machinery.

There has generally been a lack of interest in the things that are being done in the office. But there is at least one thing that absorbs the large portion of the time and no small portion of the funds of the National Office.

Nearly all this very valuable information reaches the members of the National Committee about a week after it has already appeared in some one of the party papers.

By the way, on what authority does the National Office run a newspaper, anyhow? Is this really the best way in which the money sent in can be spent?

It would seem that during the interval between campaigns, the best plan would be to reduce the force in the National Office to the point where it could handle the correspondence.

Rev. J. C. Hogan Throws Some Hot Shot at Christian Endeavor Convention—Says Leaders Stand for All that is Crap by Supporting Capitalist System.

Rev. J. C. Hogan, who has been in the Christian Endeavor Convention, says that the leaders stand for all that is Crap by Supporting Capitalist System.

ST. LOUIS WILL CELEBRATE. Preparations for the annual September festival and agitation meeting by the St. Louis comrades are proceeding.

Arriving in Baltimore on the opening day, he announced his plans for the week in an extended statement to the press, among other things saying: "My people have sent me, not only as a delegate, but also as a missionary."

THE FORMAL CHARGES. Once under way, the campaign for righteousness was kept moving in a lively fashion, and on the second day the following formal charges were made public:

First—False leadership or gross incompetency. A recent report stated that the Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor is twenty-five years old and has a membership of about 4,000,000, and its societies number 45,227, of which 500 are in Europe.

Jesus says: "Ye shall know them by their fruits," not by their numbers. By that test this alleged Christian Endeavor, under its present leadership, is a dismal failure.

Second—Dr. Clark is guilty of bearing false witness against good men and women. On Sept. 12, 1903, the Christian Endeavor World, of which Dr. Clark is the editor-in-chief, classified Socialists as merely and called Socialists red-headed devils.

Christ's social teachings and the present day economic systems are directly opposed, and men cannot fully live the noble, unselfish Christian life which Jesus Christ taught while they remain in the present squalid and immoral economic conditions.

Any of our readers who are interested in this matter and desire a full report of the subject of which the foregoing is a very small portion of a lot of the same kind of hot stuff should write for a copy of the "Open Letter."

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The Store of Values and Varieties Our many patrons regard us as such—we always aim to show a complete assortment of new things and sell them at the lowest prices.

LECTURE! S. S. S.—THE SCANDINAVIAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC SICK SOCIETY MR. W. M. E. TRAUTMANN will Lecture on New and Old Unionism

HERZOG & SPINDLER FURNITURE, CARPETS, STOVES, TOOLS AND HARDWARE 579-587 W. Chicago Ave. CHICAGO

V. SCHVAB UP-TO-ATE Union-made Footwear 723 W. NORTH AVE.

THIS LABEL INTERNATIONAL is the only guarantee that bread and other bakery goods are union made.

WORKINGMEN'S FURNITURE FIRE INSURANCE Established 1872. Membership 16,700. Applications for membership every Tuesday

A. ABRAHAMSEN Men's Furnishings and Shoes 1908 MILWAUKEE AVE., COR. CALIFORNIA AVE.

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We Want Agents for the OLIVER Typewriter—the standard visible writer

Varicocele Restoration to a sound and healthy condition is the result of my method of treating this disease and, when neglected, dangerous disease.

THE CHICAGO SOCIALIST

Published every Saturday at 148 E. Randolph St., B. 15, cor. Randolph and La Salle Sts., CHICAGO, ILL.

Subscription Rates: One Year \$2.00, Six Months \$1.25, Three Months \$0.75.

The Chicago Socialist is published under the control of Local Chicago of the Socialist Party of Chicago.

Editor: A. W. Moore, Business Manager: Louis Dolgarek, State Sec.: J. S. Smith, C. L. Brecken, County Sec.

Entered at the Postoffice, Chicago, Ill., as second-class matter, March 15, 1902.

"THE SCAB," AS SEEN FROM THREE STANDPOINTS

It cannot hold its own against the capitalist manager, and the whole energy that now goes to the union will turn to an aggressive political socialism.

ELECT SOCIALIST JUDGES.

We wish to once more impress upon the minds of the workers the importance of the judicial elections that will take place this fall.

WORKERS IN THE FIELD.

Twenty-fourth Ward West End sends in a few from time to time. The Third Ward Branch takes 1,000 copies of the Campaign Edition.

WILL CHOOSE SOCIALISM.

From the St. Louis Star-Cronicle: "They say they will choose socialism. They say they will choose socialism. They say they will choose socialism."

THE AFTERMATH.

Now that peace has been restored between Russia and Japan the soldiers who were fortunate enough to escape death by battle and disease will probably be permitted to return to the countries their masters own.

OPEN AIR MEETINGS.

NOTE: Where no otherwise noted all meetings are held for 8 p. m. Speakers will kindly take orders from printed list and chairman will be careful to be promptly on time to open up meeting.

SECRETARY'S REPORT.

Receipts—Due stamps, \$102.45; donations, campaign fund, \$18; literature sales, \$2; balance on hand last week, \$2.33; total, \$124.78.

PRINTING OF STATE CONSTITUTION.

An appeal is herewith made to all locals and branches of Illinois to donate a dollar or two to the above fund for the purpose of printing our new State Constitution in booklet form.

MASS MEETING.

Don't forget the date of the mass meeting, Sunday, Sept. 24, at Ulich's Hall, 2 p. m.

TACK UP THERECARDS.

The election commissioners have promised to furnish the Socialist party with at least five ternary election cards for each district.

NOTICE.

The Ward Branch Secretaries who received subscription lists to collect money for the Bohemian daily paper are requested to return same to the Spravednost, 683 South Loomis street.

GET BUSY FOR THE CAMPAIGN.

Get busy for the campaign—it is the only way to your industrial liberty.

SOCIALIST MEETING STOPPED.

Fourteen Arrested and Taken to Police Station.

Lady Comrade "Calls the Roll" and All Respond—She States that the Arrest Will Only Make Socialist Propaganda—A Graphic Description of a Socialist Open-Air Propaganda Meeting.

For forty minutes last night Thomas F. Croal had been preaching the tenets of Socialism from a cracker box to a crowd which had grown continuously, the audience stretching from curb to curb on Ninth street.

Wednesday night the Socialists were arrested at the corner of Fifth and Main streets. On Thursday and Friday evenings there had been no attempt at a street meeting.

SCHMIDBAUM WAS CHARMAN.

When the names had been called Charles Schmidbaum stepped upon the box to call the meeting to order. He announced that they were there to discuss a question more important than that of the currency and more important than that of the tariff.

THE AFTERMATH.

Each, as he answered, stepped forward within the circle formed by the police. At last the list was ended. Martha Biegler jumped from the box.

THE AFTERMATH.

"I haven't 11 cents," he replied. "This is the best advertisement that Socialism could possibly have," said Martha Biegler.

CROWD BEGAN TO GATHER.

A few more had collected about the speaker on the cracker box, and he paused while he directed his lieutenants to clear the sidewalk.

VAIL'S BOOKS.

Our co-operative publishing house has lately purchased the plates and copyrights of MODERN SOCIALISM and PRINCIPLES OF SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM by Rev. Charles H. Vail, and they will hereafter be supplied to our stockholders on the same terms as our own publications.

CHARLES H. KERR & CO., 56 Fifth Ave., Chicago.